VOL. VI, No. 2
FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, JANUARY 12, 1918

National Woman's Party Heard by House Suffrage Committee

National Woman's Party

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Notes of the Week

Property—Not Human Liberty?

ON January 4, President Wilson went before Congress in joint session to explain why the railroads of the country should pass into federal control.

"It is our duty," he said, "as the representatives of the nation, to do everything that it is necessary to do to secure the complete mobilization of the whole resources of America by as rapid and effective means as can be found. To assume control of the vast railway systems of the country is, I realize, a very great responsibility, but to fail to do so in the existing circumstances would have been much greater. I assume the less responsibility rather than the weightier."

President Wilson has not gone before Congress, as he should have gone before it, to urge the federal enfranchisement of women as one of the most important moves before Congress "to secure the complete mobilization of the whole resources" of the country. In failing to back this vital war measure openly Mr. Wilson has assumed a responsibility that is likely to prove weightier and weightier to him.

Democrats' Lead in House Trembles in Balance

WHEN the Sixty-fifth Congress reconvened on January 3 the Democrats outranked the Republicans by exactly two members. The clerk of the House made this significant summary: Total membership, 435; Democrats, 211; Republicans, 209; Independents, 6; vacancies, 9.

It is not remarkable that with this political balance wavering before their eyes, the Democrats are hurrying to catch up—and scolding each other for slowness—on the suffrage issue, and the Republicans en masse agree to make it a party issue. The only wonder is that politicians in power have been for so long so unastute as to let their obstinately reactionary leaders fight a reform that as an international question of justice and democratic morality may well be the touchstone for the worth of a party.

New York Women to Vote in Spring

NEW York women will almost certainly vote in the spring special elections. A bill will be brought into the legislature shortly by Senator Walters, of Syracuse, amending the election laws so as to permit women to register in time to vote. The bill will provide that cities where special elections are to be held will be redistricted before such elections, election boards will be convened for the purpose of general registration and general party enrollment will be authorized.

New York women, who are planning already for forcing a swift ratification of the federal amendment by their state, are making every effort to increase their political power by as early a use of the vote as possible.

Suffrage Urged by Maryland Governor

GOVERNOR Harrington, of Maryland, recommended unrestricted suffrage for the women of his state in his message to the General Assembly when it convened on January 2. His recommendation to the assembly was that a bill be passed embodying a proposed amendment to the state constitution granting women the ballot, and that this amendment be submitted to the voters of the state.

Doubtless this position of the governor for suffrage at once for Maryland women will have weight for the federal amendment with that state's delegation in Congress. Maryland will not be obliged to go into another state campaign for suffrage.

Another Bill in the Interest of Women

MISS Jeanette Rankin is initiating legislation of great importance to women. She has introduced into the House a resolution which would authorize the President to require the same wages to be paid to women workers as are paid to men, by all employers of labor during the war.

At the same time Miss Rankin introduced a bill to equalize the wages of men and women in government service.

Independent Nationality for Women

THE British National Council of Women in a comprehensive feminist program drawn up at its annual business meeting in London in October made the second plank in its platform, after the suffrage plank, the question of the independent nationality of married women.

The Council represents women's organizations throughout the British Europe. When the Imperial War Conference gathered last April in London and urged the importance of uniform British nationality laws the Council at once sent a memorial of women's claims in this matter to these British statesmen. It pointed out that any amendment of these laws must include giving women the right to retain their nationality on marriage with an alien—a right enjoyed by them until 1870.

The demand of Australian women to choose their nationality as men chose theirs has already been partly granted. The Canadian premier was re-elected on the promise to reform nationality laws for women, and grant complete woman suffrage.

American women as usual in matters of political consciousness have been slower than other women to agitate this great injustice. Approaching enfranchisement brings it everywhere to a head, however, and a bill for its reform has been introduced into Congress by Representative Rankin this session.

New Woman's Party in England

A WOMAN'S Party for the vigorous carrying on of the war has been formed in England under the leadership of Christabel Pankhurst. At a great meeting in Queen's Hall, London, Miss Pankhurst summed up the war aims of the new Party.

"We stand for a war till victory. We are resolutely opposed to all forms of compromise with the enemy. In particular we stand for the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France. We call for the adoption of more radical war measures."

She appealed to the women of the country to band themselves together to enter "the political game" with tremendous results in numbers and enthusiasm.

In Behalf of Irish Freedom

MRS. Hannah Sheehy Skeffington, editor of "The Irish Citizen," is in Washington to present to President Wilson a petition from Irish women in behalf of Irish freedom, and to interview members of Congress in the same cause. Mrs. Skeffington is a pioneer of the aggressive suffrage movement in England and Ireland, and on several occasions suffered the hunger strike. Her husband, Francis Sheehy Skenffington, also a powerful journalistic advocate of suffrage, was killed during the Irish Rebellion of 1916. While organizing citizens to preserve order in Dublin, Mrs. Skeffington relates, he was arrested by English military authorities and taken as a hostage on a military expedition during which he witnessed a military murder. The next day he and two other editors were shot from behind without warning, and without charge or trial, by the order of Captain Bowen-Coulthurst.

Mrs. Skeffington refused the offer of Premier Asquith to pay her a generous sum of money if she would keep quiet about the murder of her husband, and came in disguise to America about a year ago. She has toured America addressing audiences in behalf of the Irish Republic, the first government proclaimed in the name of the men and women of a nation.

First Use of Equal Suffrage in Switzerland

AT the recent elections for the Tribunals of Prud'hommes in Neuchatel, the first Swiss elections in which women voted and were eligible for election, forty-six women were elected in a total of 438 members. The Tribunals are professional and trade councils to arbitrate disputes between employers and workers. Since in many of the groups women are barely or not at all represented, Swiss women think the results of the first elections look well for them. The proportion of women voters was very high—in the only group hotly contested they were 220 out of a total of 344.

Susan B. Anthony Amendment Passes House

ON January 10, the House of Representatives passed the Susan B. Anthony amendment by a vote of 274 to 136. With galleries and corridors close-packed with waiting women, the floor filled with silent members high-strung by the closeness of the vote and the keenness of the party fight, given a final whip by the last minute message of President Wilson to Congress in its favor, the long-fought-for suffrage bill came to its first victory with less than one man to spare. The drama at the end of the day that began before nine for the suffragists that went to the House with sandwiches in their pockets and ended in an outburst of cheering and singing with the victory at quarter-past seven, was certainly as intense as the House has known in a generation—equalled only by that of one other decision, the vote for war last April.

THE fight against the suffrage bill began with an hour's debate on the resolution for taking up the amendment. With passion such anti-suffragists as Moon, of Tennessee, and Greene, of Massachusetts, pleaded to protect the Constitution against such extreme haste in amendment; urged that consideration of suffrage be put off at least until after the war. The resolution was, however, agreed to without a roll-call, and the five-hour debate then started, with Mr. Raker, chairman of the Rules Committee; Miss Rankin, ranking Republican member; Mr. Saunders, of Virginia; and Mr. Meeker, of Missouri, opposed members of the committee, each in charge of one-fourth of the time.

THE debate closed at five o'clock. House and galleries, tired by the long stretch of speaking, tightened to closest attention when the Speaker rapped loudly for order and sent the members into their seats. Instantly Representative Moores, of Indiana, sprang up with an amendment. It called for ratification of the suffrage amendment by conventions specially called in three-fourths of the states instead of by the state legislatures.

Weary members began calling, "Vote, Vote!" The vote was taken and though the nos seemed to have it, a roll-call was demanded by Mr. Moores, and the long, slow process was started. The amendment to the amendment was lost by a vote of 131 to 274.

MR. Gard, of Ohio, won a little more time for the opposition. He tried to get an amendment limiting the time for ratification to seven years. There were cries of "Shame, Shame," from all over the floor when the representative admitted, in answer to a demand, that he had no intention of voting for suffrage even if his amendment carried. His motion was lost by a vote of 158 to 247.

How House Voted on Suffrage

Democrats Who Voted in Favor of the Amendment, 104

Alexander, Ayres, Barkley, Barnhart, Beakes, Beshlin, Blanton, Booher, Borland, Brodbeck, Brumbaugh, Byrns, of Tennessee; Caldwell, Campbell, of Pennsylvania; Cantrill, Caraway, Carew, Carter, of Oklahoma; Church, of California; Connally, of Texas; Connelly, of Kansas; Cox, Crosser, Dale, of New York; Decker, Denton, Dickinson, Dill, Dixon, Dooling, Doolittle, Drane, Eagan, Evans, Ferris, Fields, Fisher, Flynn, Foster, Gallagher, Gallivan, Gandy, Garrett, of Texas; Goodwin, Gregg, Hamill, Hamlin, Hastings, Hayden, Helvering, Hensley, Hilliard, Igoe, Jacoway, Johnson, of Kentucky; Jones, of Texas; Keating, Kelly, of Pennsylvania; Kettner, Lea, of California; Linthicum, Littlepage, Lobeck, Lunn, McAndrews, McClintic, McKeown, Maher, Mays, Neely, Oldfield, Oliver, of New York; O'Shaunessy, Phelan, Rainey, Raker, Romjue, Rubey, Rucker, Russell, Sabath, Scully, Sears, Shackleford, Shallenberger, Sherwood, Shouse, Sims, Charles B. Smith, Thomas F. Smith, Stephens, Sterling, Sullivan, Summers, Taylor, of Arkansas; Taylor, of Colorado; Thomas, Thompson, Tillman, Van Dyke, Walton, Weaver, Welling, Wingo.

Democrats Who Voted in the Negative, 102

Almon, Ashbrook, Aswell, Bankhead, Bell, Black, Blackmon, Brand, Buchanan, Burnett, Byrnes, South Carolina; Candler, Carlin, Clark, of Florida; Claypool, Coady, Collier, Crisp, Dent, Dewalt, Dies, Dominick, Doremus, Doughton, Dupre, Eagle, Estopinal, Flood, Gard, Garner, of Texas; Garrett, of Tennessee; Glass, Godwin, Gordon, Gray, of Alabama; Hardy, Harrison, of Mississippi; Harrison, of Virginia; Heflin, Helm, Houston, Howard, Huddleston, Hull, of Tennessee; Humphreys, Jones, of Virginia; Kehoe, Key, Kincheloe, Kitchin, Larsen, Lazaro, Lee, of Georgia; Lesher, Lever, Lonergan, McLemore, Mansfield, Montague, Moon, Nicholls, of South Carolina; Oliver, of Alabama; Olney, Overmyer, Overstreet, Park, Polk, of Delaware; Pou, Price, Quin, Ragsdale, Rayburn, Riordan, Robinson, Rouse, of Kentucky; Sanders, of Louisiana; Saunders, of Virginia; Sherley, Sisson, Slayden, Small, Snook, Steagall, Stedman, Steele, Stephens, of Mississippi; Stevenson, Tague, Talbott, Venable, Vinson, Walker, Watson, Webb, Welty, Whaley, White, of Ohio; Wilson, of Louisiana; Wilson, of Texas; Wise, Young, of Texas.

Republicans Who Voted in Favor of the Amendment, 165

Anderson, Anthony, Austin, Bacharach, Bland, of Indiana; Bowers, Britten, Browne, Burroughs, Butler, Campbell, of Kansas; Cannon, Carter, of Massachusetts; Chandler, of New York; Chandler, of Oklahoma; Clarke, of Pennsylvania; Classon, Cooper, of Ohio; Cooper, of Wisconsin; Copley, Costello, Cramton, Currie, of Michigan; Dale, of Vermont; Darrow, Davidson, Davis, Dempsey, Denison, Dillon, Dowell, Dyer, Edmonds, Elliott, Ellsworth, Elston, Emerson, Esch, Benj. L. Fairchild, Fairfield, Farr, Fess, Fordney, Foss, Francis, Frear, Freeman, French, Fuller, of Illinois; Glynn, Good, Goodall, Graham, of Illinois; Green, of Iowa; Griest, Hadley, Hamilton, of Michigan; Hamilton, of New York; Haskell, Haugen, Hawley, Hayes, Hersey, Hicks, Hollingsworth, Husted, Hutchison, James, Johnson, of Washington; Juul, Kahn, Kelley, of Michigan; Kennedy, of Iowa; Kennedy, of Rhode Island; Kiess, King, Kinkaid, Knutson, Kraus, LaFollette, of Washington; Langley, Lehlbach, Lenroot, Little, Lundeen, of Minnesota; McArthur, McCormick, McCullouch, McFadden, McKenzie, McKinley, McLaughlin, of Michigan; Madden, Magee, Mann, Mapes, Mason, Merritt, Miller, of Minnesota; Mondell, Moores, of Indiana; Morgan, Mott, Nelson, Nichols, of Michigan; Nolan, Norton, Osborne, Parker, of New York; Peters, Platt, of New York; Porter, Powers, Pratt, Purnell, Ramseyer, Rankin, Reavis, Robbins, Roberts, Rodenberg, Rogers, Rose, Rowe, Rowland, Sanders of Indiana; Sanford, Scott, of Iowa; Scott, of Michigan; Scott, of Pennsylvania; Sells, Siegel, Sinnott, Slemp, Sloan, Smith, of Idaho; Smith, of Michigan; Snell, Snyder, Steenerson, Sterling, of Illinois; Stiness, Strong, Sweet, Swift, Temple, Templeton, Timberlake, Towner, Treadway, Vare, Vestal, Volstead, Waldow, Ward, Wason, Wheeler, White, of Maine; Williams, Wilson, of Illinois; Wood, of Indiana; Woods, of Iowa; Woodyard, Young, of North Dakota; Zihlman.

Republicans Who Voted in the Negative, 33

Browning, Crago, Dallinger, Focht, Garland, Gillett, Gould, Gray, of New Jersey; Greene, of Massachusetts; Greene, of Vermont; Heaton, Hull, of Iowa; Kearns, Krieder, Longworth, Lufkin, McLaughlin, of Pennsylvania; Meeker, Moore, of Pennsylvania; Morin, Mudd, Paige, Parker, Ramsey, Sanders, of New York; Stafford, Switzer, Tilson, Tinkham, Voigt, Walsh, Watson, of Pennsylvania; Winslow, of Massachusetts.

Miscellaneous Who Voted in Favor of the Amendment, 5

Baer, Farmers' Non-Partisan League; Fuller, of Massachusetts, Independent; London, Socialist; Randall, Prohibitionist; Schall, Progressive.

Miscellaneous Who Voted Against the Amendment, 1

Martin, of Louisiana; Progressive-Protectionist.

Not Voting, 17

Capstick, Cary, Drukker, Graham, Heintz, Hood.

Pairs: Reed and George W. Fairchild (for) with Dunn (against); Ireland and LaGuardia (for) with Padgett (against); Curry, of California, and Miller, of Washington (for) with Holland (against); Johnson, of South Dakota, (for) with Cooper, of West Virginia (against).

MR. Raker then called for a vote on the joint resolution before the House. This was taken by a roll-call in accordance with the Constitution.

With the great room in perfect stillness the clerk rolled out the names slowly. That the decision would be extremely close became evident at once. The second call of men who had not answered before started. As one man after another answered to the second call, applause rang out from first one camp and then the other.

Just at the end, before the count had been made, Representative Dominick, Democrat of South Carolina, called out his vote, "nay." He declared he had not heard his name called. Speaker Clark ruled in his favor. Then a member, Representative Russell, of Missouri, a Democrat also, rushed to the Speaker's desk, calling, I desire to vote aye." His vote, too, was recorded. Mr. Saunders, of Virginia, still fighting, called for a recapitulation of the vote. Other opposed members were hurrying through the room trying to change votes at the last second.

The clerk read the long record again, and for the last time—every man intent to hear that his vote was correctly recorded. The Speaker rose as the last name was repeated. 274 to 136—the amendment had won in the first half of the battle. The Democratic Party was saved by a hair's breadth the responsibility for defeating suffrage.

THE result of the vote shows plainly that it was a party vote that won the amendment.

The Republicans voted 165 to 33 in favor: *i. e.*, 83 per cent of the Republicans voting voted "yea." The Democrats voted 104 to 102 in favor: *i. e.*, 2 less than 50 per cent voted "nay."

The figures further bring out with dramatic clearness that the championship of the amendment by the rival party waked the Democrats to their responsibility in time. The Democrats split almost evenly for the measure they have for five years blocked in Congress. Aroused, forward-looking members of the Party in power rushed to rescue the amendment from defeat and their Party from the disgrace of defeating it.

The South was the strongest factor against the amendment. While the free states of the West and East, Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, North Dakota, Oregon, Rhode Island, Utah, Washington and Wyoming were turning in a solid vote for it, with Michigan lacking one vote only out of 13 and New York swinging all but 3 of her 43 men over; Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina were solid against, with North Carolina saved by only one vote from the same disgrace, the vote of Mr. Zeb Weaver, and Virginia by the one vote of Representative Slemp.

There were, however, some exceptions to the solidity of Southern opposition to the will of the party on this question. Arkansas, with primary suffrage, gave its whole delegation. Florida, two to two, and Kentucky seven to 4 in favor, were further proofs of breaks in the line.

There are other states than equal suffrage states on the roll of honor of a complete delegation in favor. These are New Hampshire, Maine, Minnesota, Oklahoma and New Mexico. Iowa lacked only one vote out of her eleven, and Missouri only one out of sixteen.

The strong responsibility the rival parties felt for the amendment and the interest felt in the issue by its friends was dramatically proved by the efforts of several men to get to the House for the vote. Minority Leader Mann came into the House just before the roll-call—his first attendance since his long illness at Johns Hopkins. Representative Sims, Democrat, of Tennessee, came still weak from an aeroplane accident at the Italian front; and Representative Barnhart, Democrat, of Indiana, persisted in getting to the House to vote "yea" though he was followed from a District hospital by doctor and nurse and had to return to bed as soon as his vote was recorded.

The Democratic Congress Is Forced to Pass Suffrage

By Ernestine Evans

THERE should be, ingredient in the suffrage debate preceding the passage by Congress of the amendment, certain politcal tutorings for the women who must press for the passage of the same bill in the Senate, and its ratification in state legislatures, and for those who will in other years take their share in initiating and passing the body of laws under which the nation shall live.

Like all congressional debate, there was, to the gallery observer, a variousness of oratory, a conversational air that might have been led up to, not by prayer or campaign, but a casual . . "The time has come, The Walrus said," about all that was said and read in those five hours before the cloud lifted away, and it was seen that the corner stone of "the new world in which we now live" had been laid, and that there had been just one hand to spare in pushing that stone into place.

But behind the rolling cadences that will be read back home, calling on Lady Macbeth, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, Queen Isabella, Lucy Stone Blackwell, mothers and pickets, Deuteronomy and Jeanette Rankin and Joan of Arc, as to "why" and "why not," a political situation exposed itself.

It had become politically impossible for the Democratic Party not to take the responsibility for longer delay in the passage of the amendment. Its leader and its Western members had read the handwriting on the banners, and the Republicans at the Speaker's left were there for healthy enjoyment of the admission by the Majority that the hour of Democratic expediency had dawned.

THE woman's movement is a great slowly developing movement for human freedom. The vote on the suffrage question last Thursday was the critical, mechanical moment of its political phase. As the crisis of the political phase it should be studied as an occasion whose tactics will be many times repeated if women are really to express themselves insistently for human progress. Women must not only have won the tool last Thursday; they must have gained sophistication as to how to use the political tool.

What was evident was that not alone was it necessary that the enfranchisement of women become a moral principle to great numbers of men and women of vision and conscience, but that a dominant political party must always adopt as policy whatever principles threaten its domination. Domination is the light no party deliberately loses sight of.

THE House debate opened with the usual tilt on rules, but the key-note of the day was struck in an interpolation by Mr. Lenroot, of Wisconsin:

"May I suggest that there is a distinction between the Democratic members of the Committee on Rules and the Republican members, in this, that all of the Republican members are for this proposition?" and the vigorous warning chuckle and applause from the Republican block.

Mr. Cantrill, of Kentucky, early in the debate on rules answered for pro-suffrage Democrats bent on saving the Party's face before the voting women of the West and of New York, Rhode Island and Illinois. He retold frankly how his heart stood in his mouth during the count in November, 1916. He was Democratic campaign manager for the state of Kentucky in the campaign.

"When all seemed lost," he said, "the tide was turned from defeat to victory and every Democratic heart sent up a prayer of thanksgiving and praise for the woman suffrage states of the great West. It was on the morning following the election that I resolved as a Democrat that I would take advantage of the first opportunity to show my appreciation of the women's vote of the West."

Here was a Democrat who would not gladly take another chance with voting women without a clean Democratic slate.

"It was my privilege yesterday afternoon to be one of a committee of twelve to ask the President for counsel and advice."

The Minority roared in its chairs, and the crowded galleries to whom the day brought revolution and an eternal responsibility watched and waited while Mr. Cantrill pleaded with the Solid South. He told them that their party owed its world leadership to the women of the West. Repeatedly he read them the President's statement, "written with his own hand" urging a vote for the amendment as an "act of

justice to the women of the country and to the world."

He looked them in the eye and reminded them: "My Democratic brethren who have made these halls ring with their eloquence in their pleas to stand by the President, I say that now is your chance to stand by the President."

"STAND by the President," an old congressional refrain, gave way to a new one. . . .

"The men bearing arms in France when given a chance, voted two to one in favor of woman suffrage." It was heard many times later in the afternoon. There were many who admitted with General Pershing, "This war is being fought by women . . . they will deserve honor for their aid in establishing democracy." But "They voted two to one" was the refrain that gladdened many women in the galleries who knew with Moody that "the heart of youth is always generous."

THERE was warning from Mr. Kelly, of Pennsylvania: "If America does not act now she will be laggard instead of a leader in this movement for the Democracy for which liberty-loving nations are battling around the world."

There were other warnings: "From a Republican standpoint," said Mr. Lenroot, of Wisconsin, "from a partisan standpoint it would be an advantage to Republicans to go before the people in the next election and say this resolution was defeated by Southern Democrats."

Then Mr. Gordon, of Ohio, who had made a statement before a notary public that he would stand by his anti-suffrage platform, tried to worry Mr. Lenroot with the fact that three years ago Lenroot, of Wisconsin, voted "No," and Mr. Madden, of Illinois, turned the laugh into Republican shouts by asking, "What will happen to Mr. Wilson?" and a member rumbled, "He kept us out of the war," and the laugh rose again.

NOON came. Not a half-dozen women left the galleries. At one o'clock the four-hour debate on the bill opened with Mr. Raker, of California, chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee in charge for the Administration. The privilege of opening the debate was turned over to Miss Rankin, whose disarming presence has admittedly made it easier for more than one timid anti-suffragist to vote "Yes."

Chivalrous Southern members chattered with marked discourtesy at the back of the House, as the first woman member of the House of Representatives spoke to the bill whose passage meant that in the midst of a world war, the United States was not in the hands of blind reactionism.

Miss Rankin summed up the case for national action. States' rights persiflage and camouflage came to life many times in the afternoon in the mouths of determined opponents to suffrage, many of whom had a passion for local initiative new-born since they voted nationally for prohibition.

THE Solid South, but not so solid since Arkansas and Missouri, retorted. Mr. Clark, of Florida, leading the opposition, shut his ears to all temptation to secure his party's security of tenure in the suffrage states:

"I was pained to notice in the press a few days ago, Mr. Speaker, what purported to be an interview with a prominent Southern Democrat, in which he was reported as warning Southern Democratic Congressmen that if they voted anything like solidly or in large numbers against this resolution they would be in grave danger of losing chairmanships of committees in this House; that the advocates of woman suffrage in the coming elections would defeat every Democratic candidate for Congress possible; and that this would give the next House to the Republicans. I sincerely trust this eminent gentleman, whom I esteem most highly, has been misquoted. He certainly could not have meant what the language attributed to him implies. If the language of that alleged interview means anything, it means that Democratic members of Congress should sacrifice their views on a great constitutional question in order that they may continue to hold chairmanships of committees in this body. Mr. Speaker, when I became a member of this body, I took an oath to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States."

HE read from one of the Washington papers the statement of the twelve who had gone to the President "for advice"—"Counting on the weight of the President's influence to swing doubtful Democrats."

"To swing doubtful Democrats," said Mr. Clark. "Is there a man on this floor worth his salt, or to be considered for a moment in connection with the high office of a representative, who will change his convictions on a constitutional question because the President seems willing to change?"

BUT the doubtful Democrats had been swung, and Mr. Clark in passing cheerlessly predicted that in conferring the franchise upon woman his colleagues had disrupted the family, and destroyed the home.

MR. Langley, of Kentucky, had no such misgivings, and glad of the opportunity to send the measure through with sane and enthusiastic backing he said:

"Gentlemen complain about this effort to force woman suffrage upon the states that do not want it, and about ignoring the wishes of that class of women in the country who do not ask for the ballot and do not desire it, and yet we are proceeding in the exact manner which the founders of the Republic themselves provided in the Constitution for its amendment, so that this argument is in effect a criticism of the only method of amendment to that instrument which was provided for us. What harm can it do the women who do not want to vote if we give the ballot to those who do want to vote? It might as well be contended that it is wrong to let some men vote because others never go to the polls. There has been a good deal of talk along these lines, but I have yet to hear a single sensible, logical reason why a democracy should deny to any patriotic citizen, with intelligence enough to vote and the desire to vote, the right to do so. Some gentlemen have contended that the founders of our Republic were against woman suffrage. I am not prepared to concede that this is a correct statement of their position, but even if it is, I firmly believe that if they were living today and had the privilege of voting on this resolution, they would vote for it in view of the changed conditions that now exist. Surely, if Woodrow Wilson can change his mind overnight and get by with it, Washington and Jefferson ought to be pardoned if they were to change their minds in a hundred years.

"Judging from some of the arguments that have been presented here and elsewhere against this resolution, I suspect that some gentlemen have a conception of woman's sphere that is on a par with that expressed by a certain Southern bachelor poet of more or less local fame, who in a spirit of poetic fervor exclaimed:

> Woman, woman, thou art divine!
> Oh, that I had one I might call mine,
> To soothe me in my worstest woes
> And cook my dinner and wash my clothes.

"My distinguished friend and colleague (Mr. Cantrill), whose political sagacity and wise foresight are everywhere recognized, has warned his Democratic associates from the Southland that if they vote against this resolution they are likely to lose their grip upon the legislative machinery of this body. That is, indeed, a consummation devoutly to be wished for. (Laughter.) If I may be permitted to digress enough to indulge in a political prophecy, I wish to say that, in my judgment, that consummation is already a foregone conclusion. (Applause on the Republican side.) But, however that may be, I am so anxious to see this resolution adopted that I hope you Southern Democrats will follow my colleague's advice, and I for one am willing for my party to take its chances in the future upon other issues.

"Much has been said pro and con about "picketing"—that rather dramatic chapter in the history of this great movement. It is not my purpose to speak either in criticism or commendation of that; but if it be true—I do not say that it is, because I do not know—but if it be true, as has been alleged, that certain promises were made, as a result of which a great campaign was won, and those promises were not kept, I wonder whether in that silent, peaceful protest that was against this broken faith there can be found sufficient warrant for the indignities which the so-called "pickets" suffered; and when in passing up and down the Avenue I frequently witnessed cultured, intellectual women arrested and dragged off to prison because of their method of giving publicity to what they believed to be the truth I will confess that the question sometimes arose in my mind whether when the impartial history of this great struggle has been written their names may not be placed upon the roll of martyrs to the cause to which they were consecrating their lives in the manner that they deemed most effective."

THIS tribute to the pickets was not the only one, on the day, exactly one year from the day when the first pickets went forth, silent sentinels asking on golden banners at the White House gates, in the words of Inez Milholland Boissevain, "Mr. President, How long must women wait for liberty?"

Mr. Gordon, of Ohio, was saying:

"We are threatened by these militant suffragists with a direct and lawless invasion by the Congress of the United States of the rights of those states which have refused to confer upon their women the privilege of voting. This attitude on the part of some of the suffrage members of this House is on an exact equality with the acts of these women militants who have spent the last summer and fall, while they were not in the District jail or workhouse, in coaxing, teasing, and

Concluded on Page 15

Above—Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, Mrs. William Kent, Miss Anne Martin, Miss Maud Younger, Miss Ella Riegal

Below—Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall, Miss Jessica Granville Smith, Miss Betty Gram

Some Last Week Lobbyists of the Woman's Party

President Wilson Comes Out for Federal Amendment

Statement of Committee of Democrats who called upon President Wilson on January 9, 1918

"The President had not felt at liberty to volunteer his advice to members of Congress on this important matter, but when his advice was sought he very frankly and earnestly advised us to vote for the amendment, as an act of right and justice to the women of the country and of the world."

"MR. President, what will you do for woman suffrage?"

On the night before the vote in the House on national woman suffrage, President Wilson took at last the step the National Woman's Party has for five years urged upon him—answered the question which has sent nearly one hundred women to prison, and endorsed the national suffrage amendment.

Early on the 9th rumors flashed about the Capitol that the President was finally moving in behalf of suffrage, that he had summoned to him recalcitrant members, that he was putting on the Party screws to make sure of the passage of the amendment. Late in the afternoon a committee of Democrats called upon him. At about six o'clock, after a forty-minute talk, the committee issued to the press the above statement. In the committee were Representatives Raker, of California, chairman of the Suffrage Committee; Hayden, of Arizona; Barkley and Cantrill of Kentucky; Brumbaugh, of Ohio; Gregg and Jones, of Texas; Mays, of Utah; Ayres, of Kansas; Carroway, of Arkansas; Linthicum, of Maryland; and Taylor, of Colorado

The action of the President, brought at last to come out in support of the measure of democracy and justice that women have persisted in agitating in the face of prison and possible death, was the last move in a series of political manoeuvers which swept the suffrage amendment out of the hands of women in the last two weeks before the vote, into the machinery of party politics that puts measures through Congress.

For five years the Woman's Party has held the party in power responsible for action on suffrage. For five years it has pushed national suffrage into the position of a political issue. For five years it has pointed out this issue to Democrats and Republicans. At last the Republican saw it—adopted it—and when it was put straight up to the Democrats, they—no political party—could oppose it. Suffrage goes sailing through, with a contest for glory for the passage.

THE last week in December the Rules Committee made a tentative agreement to bring a rule before the House before January 10 asking for a vote on that date. Hearings before the Suffrage Committee began on the 3rd. On the 8th the committee brought in a favorable report, and on the 9th the Rules Committee decided that the Suffrage Committee and not the Judiciary Committee, which had first reported the bill without recommendation should have charge of the amendment during the debate in the House.

MEANWHILE the Republicans, seeing the chance offered them by the Democrats, began earnestly adopting the amendment as a party issue. They lined up their side of the House, already more than two-thirds pledged for the vote, until six-sevenths were pledged for it.

The New York Republicans held a caucus and reported only one recalcitrant. State after state reported a solid delegation. Suffrage leaders began to declare that there was good chance for the amendment to go through in spite of failure of support by Democratic leaders—but that responsibility for a possible defeat by a small margin would lie, of course, with the party in power. Naturally the Democrats—so long indifferent, so long stubbornly reactionary on this question, so willing to answer women's demands for action on it with brutal prison sentences—began to see the cake which they wanted to have and eat disappear before their eyes.

Leading Democrats began to wake to the danger and issue statements of warning. They pointed out that unless the Democrats assured victory to this question of fundamental democracy the question they had so long despised was likely to be their ruin. Senator Hollis, of New Hampshire, declared that a Republican president could have been elected in 1916 on the promise of national suffrage and could certainly win out on the achievement in 1920. Representative Cantrill, of Kentucky, warned the Southern Democrats that if they did not line up for suffrage they would commit "a grave political mistake." If they voted against the wishes of the Western Democrats from the equal suffrage states they would lose their hold on the leadership of the party—and the thirty-one chairmanships in the House.

Meanwhile the sentiment of the country for suffrage now was being expressed more and more loudly on every side. Members of the cabinet were making statements and writing letters endorsing the amendment. At the request of Woman's Party leaders prominent men were coming out in statements giving unqualified support to the measure, among them Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Gifford Pinchot, Mr. Francis Heney, attorney for the Federal Trade Board; Mr. Julius Rosenwald, of the Council of National Defense; Mr. Isadore Dockweiler, Democratic national committeeman of California; Mr. J. A. H. Hopkins, of New Jersey; Mr. Frank Vanderlip, and Mr. Thomas Chadborne, of New York. Congressmen in larger numbers took their stand openly on the popular side. The press called for it.

On the 9th the Republicans called a caucus for that evening—at which they adopted the amendment as a party measure.

When President Wilson at last gave the word for which the Democratic Party was waiting, and made the amendment a Party issue, he slipped the keystone into the political building-up of the suffrage question into a national political issue begun by the National Woman's Party in 1913.

Ten Picket Cases Heard in District Court of Appeals

TEN suffrage pickets who carried banners to the White House gates in August must wait until the first week in February to learn whether they still have to serve a month in jail for asking the Democratic Administration to pass the federal suffrage amendment.

Mrs. Gertrude Hunter, of Minneapolis; Mrs. Clara Fuller, of Little Falls, Minnesota; Miss Lucy Burns, of Brooklyn, and Miss Margaret Fotheringham, of Buffalo, New York; Miss Vivian Pierce, of San Diego, California; Mrs. Pauline Adams and Miss Maude Jamison, of Norfolk; Mrs. Mary Lockwood, of Clarendon, Virginia; Miss Caroline Beach, of Louisville, Kentucky; and Mrs. Kate Boeckh, of Washington, D. C., were arrested as they stood on Pennsylvania Avenue before the White House on August 23 and August 28 holding banners petitioning President Wilson for political freedom. The two groups of women were tried in the District Police Court, judged "guilty," and given thirty-day sentences.

THE appeals on the picket cases were argued on January 8 in the District of Columbia Court of Appeals. Chief Justice Constantin Smyth, recently appointed by President Wilson; Justices Robb and Van Orsdel, listened attentively and without interruption to the arguments of Matthew O'Brien, of Washington, and Dudley Field Malone, of New York, who appeared for the suffragists. Corporation Counsel Stevens, who argued the case for the government, was subjected to a rapid fire of questions by all three justices.

"Suppose," suggested Justice Robb, "some adherents of Billy Sunday should go out on the street with banners on which were painted some of Billy's catch phrases and should stand with their backs to the fence, and a curious crowd gathered, some of whom created disorder and threw stones at the carriers of the banners. Who should be arrested, those who created disorder, or the banner carriers?"

Mr. Stevens ventured as his opinion that both parties should be arrested.

"Did I make myself clear that the banner carriers were perfectly peaceful?" Justice Robb inquired.

"When it is commonly known there is a forty-foot sidewalk there?" Justice Van Orsdel added.

"Well, then," observed Attorney O'Brien, when he answered Mr. Stevens in his argument, "the honorable justices obstruct traffic, according to learned counsel's definition, when Court adjourns and they walk down the street together."

THE suffragists were charged, in the information under which they were tried, with "unlawful assembly." Attorney O'Brien brought out in his argument that no evidence in support of this charge was produced at the trial, that the only evidence produced was intended to prove "obstruction of traffic," and that it was insufficient to make a case. Mr. O'Brien also argued that his clients were unlawfully convicted because they were denied a trial by jury. He summed up the case by reading from the careful summary at the conclusion of the brief he had prepared.

"From the arrest of the plaintiffs in error to the final judgment of the Police Court, everything done by the police and the prosecuting officers, as well as the manner in which the trial was conducted by the Police Court was unlawful. There was no justification for the arrests. There was no proper or valid information filed against them in the Police Court. There was no right of trial by jury accorded them. There was an arbitrary conviction without any evidence to support it, and a judgment was not warranted by law."

IN making the concluding argument, Mr. Malone said, in part:

"The government urges as a reason for the treatment accorded these women the fact that they were willfully and deliberately harassing and annoying the President of the United States. Your honors, I can tell you this is not true. This was not their intention. They were there, peacefully and lawfully, to bring their grievance before the President. And the President himself has said to me that he was not in the least annoyed by the suffrage pickets at his gates.

"How could he or anyone be annoyed? They stood there, perfectly quiet, with their simple, dignified banners, asking for political liberty. Learned counsel states that the women expected a curious crowd to gather, such as would obstruct traffic. They had no such expectation. For five months and a half they had stood there, unmolested by either the crowd or the police. Then they were arrested while they stood still. They were told that if they moved on they would not be arrested, but they were arrested as they walked. They did not know what to expect. How could they?

"For five months and a half the pickets excited no crowd. Then, the government affirms, a crowd gathered to watch them and obstructed traffic. Is it not likely that the crowd came to watch the arrests, attracted, as a crowd always is, by an unlawful act?

"I cannot believe that this court will permit such injustice to stand—that women can be arrested under one charge, tried under another, convicted without evidence, denied trial by jury, refused their constitutional right of petition—such a stain this honorable court will not permit to stand upon the history of justice in the United States."

THE decision of the court will not be rendered for a month. The decision will either confirm or set aside the judgment of the lower court. If the judgment is set aside, the women will be entitled to a new trial in the Police Court. If it is affirmed, the country may witness the absurd spectacle of women serving a jail sentence for asking the national government to give them politcal liberty after the national government has done its part, and passed the suffrage resolution through Congress.

The Suffragist

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Subscription: Domestic, $1.00; Foreign, $1.50. Single copies, 5 cents. Make checks, drafts, and post-office orders payable to The Treasurer of the National Woman's Party

Columbian Printing Company, Inc., Washington, D. C.

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Entered as second-class matter, Nov. 14, 1913, at the Postoffice at Washington, D. C., under act of March 3, 1879

THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.

In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating, Taylor and Hayden. Reintroduced in the House December 18, 1917, by Representatives Rankin, Raker, Hayden, Taylor, Keating and Mondell.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

In the House all resolutions reintroduced on December 18 were referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

Reported in the Senate

Favorably, September 15, 1917.

Reported in the House

By Judiciary Committee without recommendation December 15, 1917.

By Suffrage Committee with recommendation January 8, 1918.

Present Status

In the Senate

On the calendar awaiting a vote.

In the House

Passed January 10, 1918.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

January 10, 1918. Yeas 274, nays 136, passing by the necessary two-thirds vote.

Suffrage Wins in House

THE federal suffrage amendment passed the House on January 10, with an exact two-thirds' majority.

Women are earnestly rejoicing over the victory. And they are keenly alive to the narrow margin by which that victory was obtained.

Two hundred and seventy-four Congressmen voted for the amendment; one hundred and thirty-six voted against. Two-thirds of the four hundred and ten votes cast on the amendment totals two hundred and seventy-four votes, the exact number cast in its favor. A change of one vote, save for the help of the Speaker, would have defeated the amendment.

The closeness of this margin has caused grave concern—and not to women only. If this great enfranchising act had gone down to defeat, it would not have been difficult for the women of the nation to fix the responsibility for the injustice done them.

Of the Republicans who voted on the measure, 83 per cent voted in favor of it; of the Democrats, only 50 per cent. The Democratic vote, taken alone, would have defeated the amendment; the Republicans saved it; they gave it more than enough votes, over and above a two-thirds' majority, to compensate for the Democratic deficiency.

It is quite evident that Democratic leaders saw the danger to their party in this opposition to a fundamental democratic reform.

Representative Cantrill, of Kentucky, a veteran Democrat standing high in the party's councils and regular beyond party reproach, issued, four days before the vote was taken, a public appeal to his fellow Democrats from the South to support the federal suffrage amendment if they would avoid "political suicide."

That this plea, frankly official as it was, was not enough to turn Southern Democratic sentiment to the support of national woman suffrage was plain, when on the evening of January 9, President Wilson first allowed himself to be publicly quoted in favor of national woman suffrage.

This was clear; it turned votes, and as events proved it turned enough votes, and just enough, to pass the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

That is well, Mr. President. The women's bill is safe; they are satisfied. But you, diplomat as you are, cannot be satisfied to see your party, now playing a bold part in the government of the world, come so close to political suicide. You can do better than that. We have seen you in effective action during five years of national party leadership. When you have wanted other measures passed, you have gone to the Capitol and demanded their passage. We look to you to do as much for us, and to give the suffrage amendment in the United States Senate *all the help it needs.*

Women Through Country Back Up Amendment Fight

WITH the House on the eve of a vote on the amendment the state branches of the National Woman's Party are pushing their strength to the utmost to back up the fight at Washington for victory. They are holding meetings to agitate the crisis for democracy as violently as possible—with an agitation that penetrates to Congress from the districts back home. And they are keeping up their organization plans with vigor—since either the winning or losing of the vote in the House means the need for as strong an organization of branches as can be worked out this winter.

THE New York branch of the Party brought together the aggressive, political suffrage workers of the city at a mass meeting in Carnegie Hall on the evening of January 4. Woman's Party speakers put clearly before a great audience of enthusiastic men and women the present hope of the passage of suffrage in Congress, and told the history of the amendment fight that in the last five years has pushed national suffrage to first importance as a national issue. The true story of the picket campaign that proved women earnest enough to face hardship, imprisonment and death if necessary, in their just insistence on franchise reform by a government that opposed them—until the government had to let up its persecution and act on the reform—aroused keenest interest and understanding.

Vida Milholland Advertizes New York Mass Meeting

Miss Lucy Burns presided at the meeting, which was opened by Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, of New York City. The other speakers were Miss Maud Younger and Mr. Dudley Field Malone, and the picket prisoners, Miss Mabel Vernon, Miss Rose Winslow and Mrs. Harvey Wiley. Thirty other suffrage prisoners were present, and they and the long line of women who represented the rest of the suffragists who served sentences in workhouse and jail for demanding suffrage brought the great audience spontaneously to its feet in a thunder of applause when they filed with banners down the long aisle and up to the stage where they were seated through the speeches. Rose Winslow, suffragist and labor leader, led the line; after her came Lucy Burns, Mrs. John Winters Brannan, Mrs. John Rogers, Jr., Miss Lavinia Dock, Miss Vida Milholland, Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Philadelphia, and the rest, carrying the purple, white and gold.

Among the women and men who filled the two tiers of boxes in the hall were Mrs. William Colt, Mrs. Robert Adamson, Mrs. John Milholland, who had with her in her box Mr. Eugene Boissevain, Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, Mrs. Howard Gould, Mrs. Frederick Ackermann, Mrs. Philip Lydig, Miss Lucy Eastman, Miss Alice and Miss Irene Lewisohn, Captain De Lamar, Mrs. H. G. Leach and Mrs. J. Henry Dick. Every brand of suffragist and every kind of democracy lover were gathered from every quarter of New York—with a uniformity of feeling on the federal amendment that proved how broad an appeal the Woman's Party has made in sticking to its fight for national suffrage.

Over three thousand dollars was raised for the work of the New York branch. This sum was contributed for the most part in small sums that showed wide sympathy and sacrifice.

IN Connecticut Mrs. W. D. Ascough, state chairman of the Woman's Party, has been rounding up pressure all over the state upon congressmen as the vote approaches. Special efforts have been made to convert Mr. Lonergan, Representative from the First Congressional District, Democrat, and still opposed to the amendment.

In Hartford, on January 7, a most successful and aroused pre-vote meeting was held at Unity Hall with the slogan "How will Congressman Lonergan vote on the national amendment next week." The town placarded with this question turned out in its interest to help answer it, the great majority of men present proving the political importance of the suffrage question. Mrs. Ascough presided; Mrs. M. Toscan Bennett, of Connecticut, spoke on "The Federal Suffrage Amendment Imminent," and Miss Mabel Vernon on "The Dramatic Story of the Washington Pickets." Three picket prisoners took their places on the stage and received an ovation from the audience—these were Miss Minnie Hennessy, Miss Catherine Flannagan and Mrs. Dorothy Bartlett.

Strong resolutions to Lonergan were passed and on the motion of one of the men present a resolution to President Wilson calling for his support for the amendment was drafted, passed and dispatched at once.

Other pressure was brought to bear recently upon Mr. Lonergan from South Manchester, Connecticut, where Mrs. Ascough was invited to speak on the Woman's Party fight for the amendment at a meeting of the Open Forum in that town. Every one in the audience, which was largely men, promised to write to their congressman.

NEWS of last meetings before the vote is taken come in from many state branches. In Wilmington, Delaware, on the afternoon of January 6 a meeting arranged by the state chair-

man, Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, at the Majestic Theatre, brought women from Middletown, Delaware City, Newcastle and Claymont to a rally for the amendment. Miss Maud Younger and Mr. Dudley Field Malone were the speakers. Fifteen hundred dollars was pledged for the work in the coming year.

Maryland is starting an Eastern Shore drive to get the votes of Representative Price and Senator Smith, Democrats, for the amendment. It will be opened by a meeting in Sudlersville at which Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, of New Jersey, will speak and Miss Ella Roberts, chairman of the Queen Anne County branch of the Party will preside. Miss Lucy Branham, national organizer now at work with the Maryland branch, has been active both in Maryland and in the Capital, bringing pressure on the Maryland delegation. Deputations of Maryland women have interviewed cabinet heads and their own congressmen in the last two weeks with notable results.

IN her tour through New England to rouse opinion for the amendment Miss Mabel Vernon speaks in Boston on January 8 in Faneuil Hall. Also in Boston on January 7 Miss Agnes Morey will speak at a dinner of the Architectural Club, one of the meetings in the New England Conference of the Free Religious Association of America. This organization in November passed a resolution of protest to President Wilson for his treatment of suffragists.

In the Middle West Mrs. Abby Scott Baker is filling a schedule of meetings in Chicago, Detroit, Des Moines, Sioux City and Dayton. In Iowa the meetings are designed to stir up the constituents of the two congressmen in that delegation opposed to protest to them. A mass meeting in Des Moines on the 7th will bring pressure on Congressman Hull; one in Sioux City on the 9th will start a flood of last hour appeals to this recalcitrant. Both of the meetings will be followed by conferences to strengthen the organization in Iowa for the coming pull to complete victory.

THE Utah branch has recently given a large card party in the banquet room of the Hotel Utah, Salt Lake City, arranged by the state officers with great financial success for carrying out the plans of the branch this winter. The Oklahoma branch planned a strong campaign against the one opposed congressman of the state, Charles D. Carter, at a meeting held in Oklahoma City early this month. Petitions are being circulated for him and a letter and telegram lobby carried on. Virginia for the last month has followed up the effects of the two stirring meetings in Richmond and Norfolk by a letter lobby throughout the state. Hundreds of letters have been sent to suffragists and to many prominent women and men asking them to write to congressmen, to party leaders and to President Wilson before the vote is taken. The last week in Richmond is being used for a street campaign to secure pressure on Congress.

Tightening up of organization of state branches is going on with unabated vigor everywhere. With the prospect of the amendment carrying in the House, the outlook for having to bring increased pressure to bear to secure an early consideration in the Senate, and the need of laying plans far ahead for ratification in the states urges on the state branches to the most intensive work possible this winter.

Committee Hearing Proves Suffrage Power in House

DURING the last week before the vote in the House, the House Suffrage Committee has held a series of hearings on the federal amendment. The National Woman's Party, the National American Woman Suffrage Association and the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage appeared before the Committee. The object of the hearings at this time was chiefly that the Committee might collect material for the conversion of doubtful members in the House. And every circumstance of the hearing—the fact of there being a hearing at this time when the Judiciary Committee had already reported out the amendment—proved that the federal amendment fight the National Woman's Party has waged for the last five years in Washington is nearing its end.

THE Suffrage Committee, of which Representative Raker of California is chairman, needed no conversion to the amendment. It has been, indeed, ever since its election at the beginning of this session, anxious to report out a resolution urging the passage of the amendment. In spite of protest from the suffrage leaders in the House the Judiciary Committee, unfriendly to suffrage and hoping to defeat it by a hasty vote before the suffrage committee could get in any work for it, hurriedly reported Mr. Raker's own resolution out of committee without recommendation one hour after the organization of the Woman Suffrage Committee. The Suffrage Committee determined to report out another resolution, given the prestige of committee recommendation.

THE National Woman's Party appeared before the Committee on January 5 at one-thirty o'clock in the Democratic Caucus Room of the House Office Building. Many suffragists crowded the room to hear what is likely to prove the last hearing for suffrage in the House of Representatives. And the electric confidence of the audience, the sympathetic and intelligent cooperation of the committee showed how completely the amendment has turned the attitude of Congress upside down since the old-fashioned hearings not so long ago when two or three drowsy gentlemen settled back in their chairs to endure "suffrage speeches." This hearing was like a friendly conversation, with the chairman in some difficulty not to present arguments to himself. For every unfriendly question asked the speakers ten were asked with the sole purpose of bringing out the reasons for putting through the amendment now.

MISS Anne Martin, legislative chairman of the Party, who arranged the hearing, introduced Mrs. William Kent, of California, as the presiding officer. "I have not taken part in many hearings," said Mrs. Kent, "but I come to this one with a new feeling. We women come to you no longer as submissive suppliants. We represent new American women who year by year are increasing enormously their political strength. We stand here as equal to equal, demanding the right, not begging the favor."

THE theme upon which every speaker dwelt at this hearing was the necessity of national suffrage now as a war measure.

Mrs. Richard Wainwright, of Washington, spoke, Mrs. Townsend Scott, of Baltimore; Miss Ernestine Evans, of New York; Mrs. Francis Heney, of San Francisco; and Miss Betty Gram, of Portland, Oregon. Miss Maud Younger, of San Francisco, closed the hearing with a summary of the work of the National Woman's Party for the federal amendment in the last five years.

ON January 8, The Woman Suffrage Committee reported out a resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States with the recommendation that it pass. Ten of the members voted for this disposition of the bill; the three who voted against it were Mr. Meeker, of Missouri; Mr. Clark, of Florida; and Mr. Saunders, of Virginia.

"For the Congress of the supposedly most democratic country in the world to refuse to take this action," says the report, "to block the progress of democracy at home while professing to fight for it abroad, would be so high-handed a performance as to fill the world with suspicions of our purposes in the war. During 1917 the number of electoral votes cast by equal suffrage states grew from 91 to 193. These voting women as well as millions of non-voting petitioners, will be deeply incensed if the same Congress that referred prohibition to the states refuses equally fair treatment to woman suffrage."

The Press Takes Stand Before the Vote

Democrats' Fate Hangs in Balance on Suffrage

PARTY politics interests the average man only periodically but members of Congress always. The biggest and most important decision of party politics will be made in a few days when the Republican and Democratic groups in the House of Representatives formally commit their respective parties for or against the federal amendment for woman suffrage.

THE Republicans already are alert to the situation, and are almost solidly in favor of woman suffrage. The Democrats are reluctant and hesitant—the Southern Democrats are clinging to antiquated interpretations of state right doctrines. President Wilson himself is loath to interfere. But the vote next week may have a far-reaching effect on the future strength of the Democratic party in the House. The Democrats today have a slender majority. Next November if they lose control of the House and the Republican Party returns to power, an organization could be reconstructed out of which the Republican Party itself might be liberalized in time for the battle of 1920.

WOMAN suffrage, politically speaking, is likely to be a turning point for the Democrats. The latter have argued repeatedly that they are today the progressive party of the nation. Whenever it has been expedient to abandon state rights, as in the passage of the federal amendment on prohibition, the Democrats have fallen in line. Federal control of railroads, federal taxation of incomes as well as federal conscription, have been approved, the women leaders contend, by the Democrats in disregard of state right arguments.

If the Democrats therefore are responsible for the defeat of woman suffrage next week—and the Republicans will support it en masse—the strength of the women voters in such populous states as New York, will be marshaled for Republican congressmen. That is the plan of campaign of the suffrage tacticians. Senator Hollis, Democrat, of New Hampshire, reveals an apprehension that the threat may not be as empty or as untimely as it may appear. He minces no words in his analysis of the danger that confronts his own party.

IF the Republican platform," said the New Hampshire Senator today, "had been for national woman suffrage in 1916, Judge Hughes would have been elected. You may draw your own conclusion about the next campaign. Our Republican friends are not slow to show their eagerness to enforce democracy at home by completing the citizenship of women. Why should the Democrats permit the Republicans to beat them to it? What woman suffrage by states was to the peace policy of the Democratic party in 1916, national woman suffrage is today to the war policy of the country.

"I am a Democrat, representing in the Senate the only Eastern state that voted for President Wilson in 1916. I was with Senator Walsh of Montana at Democratic headquarters in Chicago in that campaign. I stayed with the Democratic platform from its first draft till I finished reading it to the St. Louis convention. The woman suffrage plank was not in the first draft of the Democratic platform of 1916; it was not recommended to the full committee on resolutions by the subcommittee that conducted hearings. But the senator who cast the deciding vote against it in subcommittee is now ready to vote for the federal amendment. But the full committee on resolutions put the suffrage plank into the platform, and there it stayed through the only contest in the Democratic convention. And it stayed there because of a very forceful and practical speech by Senator Walsh of Montana, who showed to the convention that the Democratic Party would need the votes of states having woman suffrage in order to re-elect President Wilson. Our experience at Democratic headquarters in Chicago in the campaign, and the result of the election, showed that this position was sound. No party could have elected a President in 1916 without an indorsement of woman suffrage in its platform.

"But, you say, that plank was not for the federal amendment, but for suffrage in the states. Very true, and my answer is that Judge Hughes would have been elected if the Republicans had been for national woman suffrage.

"The world has moved since 1916. The Democrats carried the country in that year on woman suffrage by states, and President Wilson's peace policy. We have now entered the greatest war of all time to make the world safe for democracy, safe for majority rule as opposed to Kaiser rule and autocracy. We are determined that the peace of the world shall not depend hereafter upon the whims or ambitions or quarrels of a few individuals. The world is not safe for democracy unless the people rule the world. And no nation can consistently fight as the champion of world democracy unless it has first become itself a geunine democracy, granting to all the people, irrespective of sex, the privilege of the ballot. I do not say the right of the ballot because woman always has had the right to vote; she merely has lacked the power to enforce the right."

WHAT Senator Hollis says about the friendliness of the Republican convention to woman suffrage as compared to the grudging support given by Democrats will be revealed by all who attended the convention at St. Louis last June. The Republicans were outspoken for suffrage.

The Democrats hesitated and a controversy between Northern and Southern Democrats ensued with the result that the forward-looking and progressive Democrats from Southern states furnished enough votes finally in coalition with the Northern Democrats to put the woman suffrage plank into the platform. Party expediency demanded that action to save President Wilson from defeat in the West which went overwhelmingly for him as the real progressive.

The same logic of political strategy would seem to confront the Democrats in respect of the federal amendment. They may decide the congressional campaign of next November by their votes next week—and a Republican House of Representatives might conceivably turn the tide for 1920 back to the Republican Party, especially if that institution inspired by a Western leadership and the lessons of 1912 and 1916, make its principles and personnel conform to the new liberalism of the age.—*David Lawrence in the Washington (D. C.) Times, January 5.*

Cantrill of Kentucky Warns the Southern Democrats

THE vote on the resolution to submit the proposed federal constitutional amendment on woman suffrage to the states for ratification will take place in the House of Representatives next Thursday, forty years to a day after the first introduction of such a resolution in the House of Representatives.

The vote will be close, but the prospects are that the House will adopt the resolution. The stanchest opposition has come from many of the Southern members and it is upon these men that the suffrage leaders are now focusing their attention. Representative James C. Cantrill of Kentucky issued a statement today in which he pointed out to his Southern colleagues that, in his judgment, the Southern Democrats stand to lose their control of the committee chairmanships in Congress if they indulge in any sustained opposition to the proposed amendment.

REPRESENTATIVE Cantrill pointed out that ten Southern states were now in control of thirty-one of the sixty committee chairmanships in the House. Four of these ten states control eighteen of the thirty-one chairmanships. That the South would like to keep this control goes without saying.

"But it won't be able to do so in face of the opposition it will encounter, if these ten Southern states vote almost solidly against the federal suffrage amendment," said Representative Cantrill. "These ten Southern states have only 110 electoral votes as against 193 electoral votes possessed by the eighteen states that have given women the suffrage for Presidential Electors.

"Now, for these ten Southern states to vote almost solidly against the suffrage amendment, as it is reported that they intend doing, would, in my opinion, be a very grave political mistake. The South has everything to lose by such a short-sighted policy. The eighteen suffrage states have thirty-six senators, while the ten Southern states which are reported as being against the suffrage amendment, have only twenty senators. The fact that the Congress is now almost evenly divided between the Democratic and Republican Parties it seems to me should force Democratic members from the South to give heed to the situation.

"This statement is based on the supposition that each Democrat in Congress is looking to the welfare of his party in the nation, and that he will not be governed by local conditions in his own district. Conditions often arise where the member of Congress must look beyond the confines of his own district and take a stand for those things

which are for the good of the Democratic Party in the nation and for the good of the nation itself.

"THE public discussion recently of the national woman suffrage amendment has brought to the surface the fact that the Republican leaders in Congress are doing everything in their power to line up the full Republican vote in Congress for this amendment. I sincerely hope that the Democrats in Congress are alive to the situation and that they will not permit the Republican Party to get any political advantage from the passage of this amendment.

"I speak as a Southern Democrat, who expects to vote for the suffrage amendment. The Democratic Party is now in control of all branches of the federal government. Almost every committee assignment, so far as the chairmanships are concerned, is held by Southern Democrats, who thus practically dictate the legislation of the nation. We have this control, as every one knows, because the woman suffrage states in the last Presidential election voted almost solidly for Democratic electors and candidates.

"For the Democratic Party in Congress to vote against the states that gave them this power would, in my humble opinion, be political suicide. For the Southern Democrats in Congress to say to the millions of patriotic women of the nation that suffrage shall not be given them would bring down upon our heads such condemnation from the suffrage states that we would be driven from power.

"Why should we not view the situation as our Republican friends are doing and line up for the passage of the amendment? If this plan is pursued, then the suffrage question cannot be made a political and partisan issue. On the other hand, the Democratic Party cannot go into the campaign next year with any hope of success with a large Republican vote in Congress in favor of the suffrage amendment and a large Democratic vote in Congress against the amendment."—*The New York Times, January 7.*

Significant Changes in Democrats

A BIG swing toward the federal suffrage amendment, which may develop strength enough to roll up the necessary two-thirds vote in the House of Representatives, is in progress. A few instances, discovered by The Tribune correspondent, will illustrate the strength of the swing.

With one exception (Mr. Meeker) the entire Missouri delegation will vote for the amendment, which means fifteen votes from a Southern state.

The entire Arkansas delegation polls for the amendment, another big dent in the solid South, which has been regarded as anti.

TWO members of the Maryland delegation (Representative Linthicum, Democrat, and Representative Zihlman, Republican), will vote for the amendment, while a third member of this delegation is in doubt and may be found in the suffrage column. Maryland has always been regarded as a strong anti-suffrage state.

In North Carolina two sure votes have been obtained, those of Godwin and Weaver, and more are expected.

THE Missouri delegation is the change which the suffragists plume themselves most about. It represents a tremendous overturn, and has several causes. Perhaps the most interesting of these is the change of front of Senator William J. Stone, unquestioned Democratic boss of Missouri. Mr. Stone cast the deciding vote in the sub-committee drafting the Democratic platform at St. Louis against including a suffrage plank. The action of the sub-committee was overruled by a scant margin in the full committee, but Mr. Stone did not change his position. In fact, in answering questions on the floor of the convention he underrated the value of the amendment, virtually asserting that it meant practically nothing.

Now Mr. Stone is ready to vote for the federal amendment. He is not putting the screws on the Missouri delegation, but his change in front is naturally having an effect on them. Speaker Clark has come out for the amendment, which also has a large influence with the Missourians.

THE Republicans in the House have been trying, apparently, to unify members of their party in favor of suffrage, saying that it is inevitable, anyhow, and the Republican Party might as well have the credit for a stand in its favor. This has been worrying the Western Democrats, and it is partially due to their drive on their Southern colleagues that there have been such inroads on the Solid South as have been outlined.

The danger to the Democratic party is outlined in a remarkable statement made tonight by Senator Hollis, of New Hampshire.—*The New York Tribune, January 8.*

Democratic Leaders Adopt Amendment

THE House will pass the woman suffrage amendment on Thursday. A confidential poll taken today by leaders showed 270 for to 120 against.

With this fact facing them and their realization that Republicans in Congress are determined to make the most of their support of the amendment, a general scramble by Southern Democrats to align themselves with the suffrage forces is expected.

A CONFERENCE of Democratic leaders in the House was held late this afternoon. Speaker Champ Clark, Floor Leader Kitchin and others of prominence were present, and it was decided to support the amendment as a party measure. With the strong Republican support for the amendment, the suffragists are assured of a big victory.

A number of Western Democrats in the House, at a conference earlier in the day, made it clear to Southern members that the women of the West, who aided Woodrow Wilson in 1916, would turn against the Democrats if the amendment is passed through Republican support and despite Southern votes.

THE general sentiment of the Democratic leaders is that the Republicans are playing skillful politics with the suffrage question, and that so long as the amendment is certain to pass Democrats might as well play the same kind of a game. It is possible to say, also, that many Democrats in the House believe that their present embarrassment would not have been possible with able leadership.

The poll, which was taken by leaders, whose poll on the nation-wide prohibition amendment was within four or five votes of the actual roll-call, shows a majority of Southern members aligned against suffrage. Seventy-nine Southern Democrats announced their purpose to vote against the amendment, while thirty-one said they would vote for it. It is considered certain this ratio will be altered considerably on Thursday.—*Philadelphia Public Ledger, January 8.*

The Press in General

From Secretary Daniels' Paper

THE Federal Constitution gives the States considerable latitude in the matter of prescribing the qualifications of voters. But under amendments already adopted it reserves to itself the broad principles on which suffrage should be based.

The Fourteenth Amendment provides that every person born in the United States, or a naturalized citizen, shall be a citizen of any state in which he resides. The Fifteenth Amendment forbids any discrimination as to suffrage on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. *Everybody is thus already taken in regardless of place of birth, race or color—only the women are left out.* Why should the mothers, wives and daughters of the voters of any state be thus discriminated against?

Another point to be kept in mind in connection with the matter of qualifications is that the proposed federal amendment for equal suffrage will enfranchise only those women in each state who come up to the qualifications now required of men

in that state. Opponents of the constitutional amendment frequently assume that when passed by Congress and ratified by the legislatures of thirty-six states, the amendment will enfranchise all the women of the country regardless of their qualification. This, of course, is a mistake. One or more of the states have property qualifications. Others require knowledge of reading and writing. All these qualifications prescribed by the states will apply to women just as they do to men.

Much of the objection to woman suffrage disappears when the fact above cited is remembered. Instead of the wholesale enfranchisement of women, as so loudly declaimed against, there will be the enfranchisement only of those who meet requirements which in the judgment of the people of the several states it has been deemed wise to establish.—*Raleigh (N. Car.) News and Observer.*

The West Watches

GOVERNOR Brumbaugh's appeal to President Wilson for the passage of the proposed federal amendment for woman suffrage shows the way the political wind is blowing. The Pennsylvania executive, long recognized as a leader of the standpat element, takes the position that the war has made the vote for women necessary, and his action reflects the view of other Republicans of the East heretofore unconverted. It is an open secret that the fate of the measure hangs on the decision of the President. He can secure its passage by saying the word, only thirty votes being needed to complete the necessary majority, or he can kill the proposal by withholding his indorsement. Hence, the grave responsibility of the President for himself and for his party. The cause is winning converts on every hand. Will the President be able, or will he want, to stem the tide?—*Colorado Springs (Colo.) Evening Telegraph, December 31.*

New England Speaks

THE spirit of the pickets is the right spirit we want in our armies in France. Why should President Wilson waste this tremendous force that could be guided into other national channels as soon as their present preoccupation is ended. If the men of America are really in earnest about freedom and democracy, let them come to the front and demand freedom and democracy at home. They would hear if the demand came from men; let them remember that women share equally the love of freedom and the hatred of tyranny. When the women of a nation cease to care for freedom the end of that nation is close at hand—*Bridgeport (Conn.) Herald.*

Treasurer's Report

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$300,000.00 RAISED FOR SECURING PASSAGE OF THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT—CONTRIBUTIONS FOR ANOTHER $100,000.00

List of Contributions from January 2 Through January 7, 1918

Contributions made to National Headquarters:

Per Mrs. Kent's Committee:		
Miss Eleanor Lawlor	$ 25.00	
Colorado Branch	80.00	
West End Political Equality League, Cincinnati	5.00	
Anonymous	12.00	
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Miss Laura Virginia Walker	5.00	
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont	250.00	
Miss Edith Callahan	100.00	
Mrs. Ethel S. Cohen in honor of Socialists of the District of Columbia	5.00	
Membership Fees	12.50	
Total collected by National Headquarters	1,586.50	
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	294,960.55	
Total collected by National Headquarters through January 7, 1918		$296,547.05

Contributions Made to Colorado Headquarters:

Mrs. Berne Hopkins	50.00	
Mrs. James Burns	35.00	
Mrs. S. F. Hamp	5.00	
A Friend	5.00	
Total collected by State Branches	95.00	
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	42,951.17	
Total collected by Branches through January 7, 1918		$ 43,046.17
Grand Total		$339,593.22

Deduction:

Transferred from Branch Headquarters to National Headquarters	$ 2,261.00
Grand Net Total	337,332.22

Federal Amendment Passes House

Concluded from Page 7

nagging the President of the United States for the purpose of inducing him by coercion to club Congress into adopting this joint resolution," when men at the Speaker's left interrupted him with shouts of "Well, they got it. They made him."

There were, on Thursday afternoon, many friendly admissions of the inevitable. Mr. Lelh back, of New Jersey, met it with:

"Political status flows out of and is supplemental to social and economic status. The belief prevalent in certain circles that the former is the means of achieving the latter is not based upon the experiences of the human race. The history of civilization teaches us that political equality can not permanently be withheld from a class or a division within a people which approximates social equality and economic independence; furthermore, attempts to bestow political equality upon such classes as are socially and economically dependent upon the rest of the population have universally failed."

Mr. Norton said:

"The man who today votes against thi resolution is a man who dwells in the pas He is a man who is asleep to the great even that are taking place in the world today. Whi we are spreading democracy throughout the n tions across the seas let us spread more of among our own good people at home. Irrespe ive of what their condition may have been i years gone by, today the women of this nati possess in equal measure with the men of the n tion all the elements of education, intelligence, character which go to make up good citizens Let us, then, in the spirit of true democracy, the spirit of justice and equality, pass this res tion, so that the quickest means may be prov to give to the women of this nation the full of suffrage, which has so long been unfairly unjustly denied to them." (Applause.)

IT was finished.

In the galleries, where women have down on defeat since January 10, 1878, w suffrage amendment was first introduced was quiet cheering. After forty years, had come. The world was theirs, not m mend and to comfort, but to make and forever, for it was not thinkable that th would interpose new barriers, in a w needed so badly some pledge of faith i racy.

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NOW is no time for THE SUFFRAGIST circulation drive to slacken! This is the critical winter for suffrage. The amendment succeeding only means that suffragists must redouble their efforts to get THE SUFFRAGIST to thousands of new readers.

To follow the suffrage amendment through Congress women and men must read THE SUFFRAGIST. To help efficiently when the time comes for state ratification of the amendment suffragists in every state must keep up with the nation-wide situation in THE SUFFRAGIST.

DO not forget that the fight is not half over. Do not let the first victory make you a slacker. *Get one new subscriber today. Subscribe yourself today if possible for one newspaper in your town and for the public library near you.*

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